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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. 5, No. 2 SEPTEMBER, 1955 Price: 4s. 6d

CONTENTS

PLATE D. A THIEF'S CHARM FROM NEW BRITAIN.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

NOTES ON THE MALNGJIN AND GURINDJI ABORIGINES OF LIMBUNYA, N.W. NORTHERN TERRITORY. Mervyn Meggitt 45
ABORIGINAL MIDDEN SITES IN WESTERN VICTORIA DATED BY RADIOCARBON ANALYSIS. E. D. Gill 51
OBSERVATION IN ANTHROPOLOGY. J. H. Bell 55
TECHNIQUES OF OBSERVATION AND THEIR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIMITATIONS. Ruth Fink 60
NOTES ON THE CAVE PAINTINGS OF GROOTE AND CHASM ISLANDS IN THE GULF OF CARPENTARIA. F. D. McCarthy 68
A THIEF'S CHARM FROM NEW BRITAIN. A. Massola 76

OBITUARY:

Frederic Wood Jones, D.Sc., F.R.S., M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.Z.S. 75

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES:

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, 1954 78

REVIEWS:

Adam in Plumes. Colin Simpson. (*F. L. S. Bell*) 79
Saipan. Alexander Spoehr. (*F. L. S. Bell*) 79
Societe, Rituels et Mythes du Nord Ambrym, etc. J. Guiart. (*F. L. S. Bell*) 80

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS:

Field Techniques in Anthropology. Leonhard Adam 82
Field Techniques in Anthropology: A Rejoinder. J. H. Bell 83

Published by
THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NEW SOUTH WALES,
C.o. Australian Museum, College St., Sydney,
and
Registered at the G.P.O., Sydney, for transmission by post as a periodical.

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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF THE
ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF AUSTRALIA

Vol. V, No. 2. September, 1955

ORIGINAL ARTICLES:

Australia: Social Anthropology. **Meggitt.**

Notes on the Malngjin and Gurindʒi Aborigines of Limbunya, N.W. Northern Territory.

By Mervyn Meggitt, B.A., Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney.

In July, 1953, while working among the Walbiri Aborigines at Hooker Creek Native Settlement, N.T., I was able, through the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Morck, to spend some fourteen days at Limbunya cattle-station. Although, anthropologically, my attention was mainly centred on the several Hooker Creek Walbiri who were then working in the Limbunya stock camps, I also collected some data on the Malŋjin and Gurindʒi, who comprise the bulk of the Limbunya camp. This was not the first time these people had encountered social anthropologists; they remembered well the visit of the Berndts in 1944. However, no detailed report on these Aborigines has yet been published.

There were at that time (1953) fifty Aborigines in the Limbunya camp, as follows:

	Male.	*Female.*	*Total.*
Dependent and aged ..	2	10	12
Working	22	14	36
Children under fourteen	2	—	2
Total	26	24	50

Among these were two Walbiri men, their two Walbiri wives and an unmarried Walbiri youth. At least one other single man was referred to as "half-Walbiri," having had, I believe, a Walbiri father from the Winnecke Creek area. The remainder were mainly Malŋjin. Although their tribal "focus" seems to be further west of Limbunya, they maintained that they were all closely related to the Gurindʒi, sharing with them kinship observances and religious beliefs and ceremonies.

Most of the Limbunya Aborigines speak pidgin, or broken English, being much more fluent in this than are most Walbiri I have encountered. This no doubt reflects their relatively prolonged contact with white settlers. The country between Wave Hill and the Ord River, W.A., was selected for cattle-stations in the period between 1880 and 1890, and there has been continuous white settlement there since that time. The Limbunya men are competent stockmen, and a couple of older men were also employed as garden hands. The women are capable domestics, and some also herded the goats and milking cattle. These are the main avenues of employment open to these people.

The noticeable paucity of young children was a source of considerable alarm to all the men with whom I discussed the matter. None could suggest a reason for this other than that the local country was " too poor "—its dreamings were simply not functioning as they should. In conversations with my wife, the women also deplored their childless state. None gave any hint that this condition was due to abortions or contraceptive techniques; but in view of our brief stay in the area, no great reliance should be placed on these reported denials. The two small boys there were hopelessly spoiled by everyone in the camp.

SUBSECTIONS.

The names are similar to those recorded for the Muḍbura, Warramuŋa, Walbiri and Janmadjari. Males and females are distinguished.

DJAMBIDJINA *nambidjina*	×	*naŋari* *DJANGARI*
DJABADA *nimara*	×	*naljiri* *DJALJIRI*
DJIMADJA *namidja*	×	*naŋgala* *DJANGGALA*
DJANAMA *nanagu*	×	*nawala* *DJULAMA*

× denotes marriage, the arrows descent; upper case denotes males, lower case females.

In cases of " wrong," or of alternate (" half-straight ") marriages, the father is " thrown away "; i.e., offspring of this union are placed in the subsections which they would have occupied had their mother married " straight." The subsections also form patrimoieties for religious purposes; all dreamings (and their localities and tracks) are incorporated into these patrimoieties. I do not know if these are named.

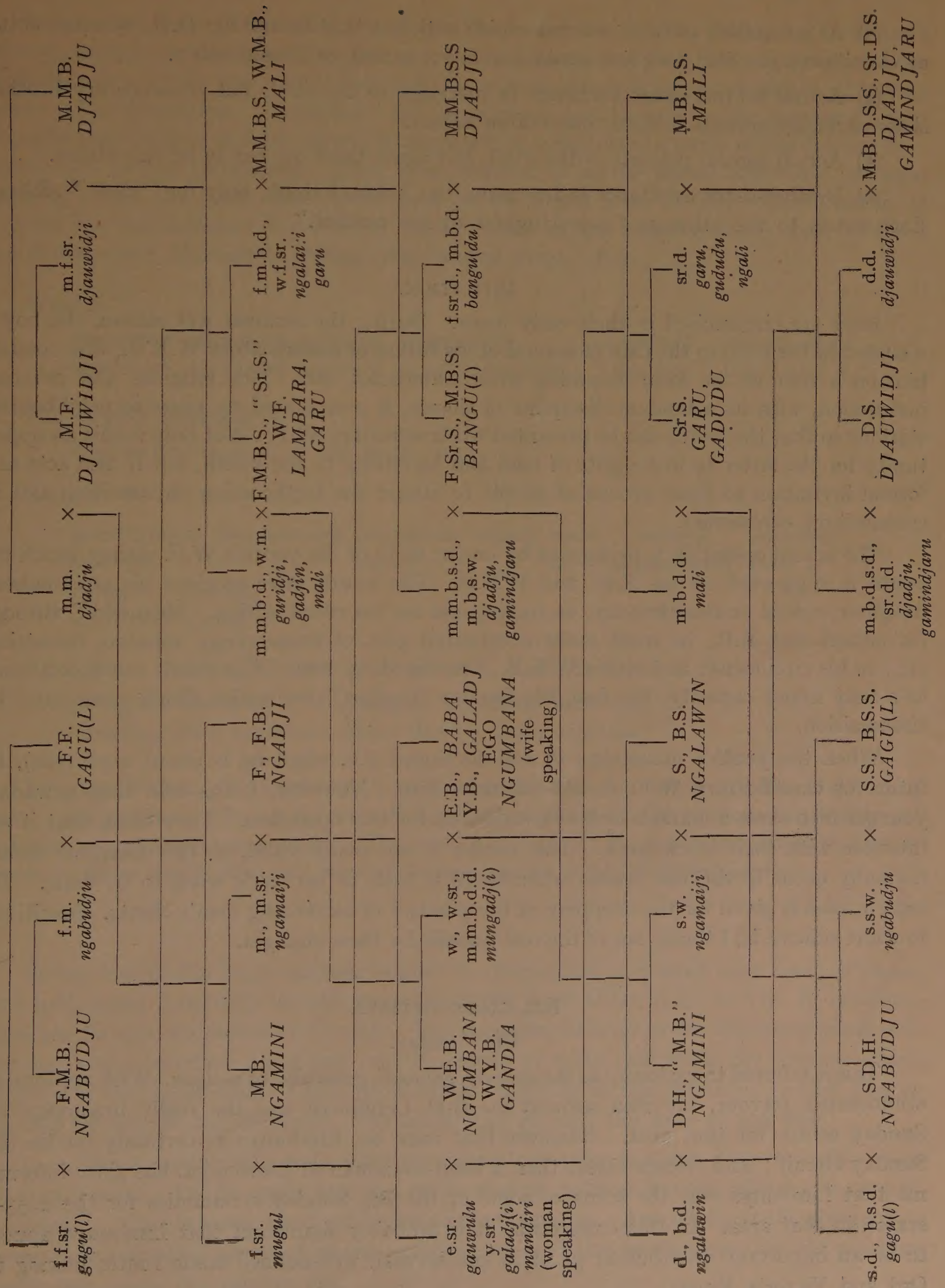
KINSHIP.

The kinship system dovetails into the subsection system, as is usual in this part of Australia. This, rather than the subsection system, is the real regulator of social rights and obligations. The following comments are intended to amplify the appended diagram.

(1) Preferred (" straight ") marriage is with classificatory m.m.b.d.d., who may be actual f.f.sr.s.d. If marriage is with the former only, W.F. is classificatory Sr.S.; actual Sr.S. cannot be W.F. W.F. is not avoided permanently by his D.H., but is treated with respect because he is generally the latter's circumciser and subinciser.

(2) W.m. is completely avoided by her D.H., and he rarely refers to her except by circumlocution. Irrespective of whom a man marries, all the classificatory m.m.b.d. who could have been his w.m. are also avoided. Actual sr.s.w. is not avoided. Alternative marriage is with classificatory m.b.d., who is also classificatory f.sr.d. In this case, only the actual w.m. is avoided, not other classificatory f.sr.

MALNGJIN AND GURINDʒI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY



(3) As a corollary of (2), a woman avoids both her H.M.B. and her D.H., whether actual or classificatory. She does not avoid her H.F., actual or classificatory.

(4) Actual brother-sister exchange in marriage is the ideal, but classificatory brother-sister exchange appears to occur more often in fact.

(5) Actual sororal polygny is the ideal, but again there appear to be exceptions.

(6) Brother-sister avoidance is the norm, but holds, I think, only for " close " siblings. Each refers to the other as " son-daughter of my mother."

INITIATION.

Boys are circumcised in their early teens. During the summer wet season, the boy is secluded in the bush in the care of several of his future or classificatory W.E.B., who conduct him on a tour of the local dreaming sites, waterholes, etc. This religious and practical instruction, with its attendant discipline of silence, is punctuated by visits to neighbouring stations so that the youth can be presented to classificatory W.F. Not only is this an opportunity for the latter to make gifts of food and hairstring to the youth, but it also acts as a formal invitation to these groups of people to attend the forthcoming circumcision and its concomitant ceremonies.

The actual operation is performed by one or more of the youth's W.F. during which the youth is supported by his E.B. and W.E.B. The youth later receives his circumciser's daughter, actual or classificatory, as recompense for his ritual killing. Meanwhile, through his fathers and M.B., he must make substantial gifts of boomerangs, tobacco, hairstring, etc., to his circumciser and to his W.E.B., who cared for him. The youth can now attend, in a very minor capacity, the first Big Sunday (*Gadjari*) ceremonies which occur after his circumcision.

When the youth's moustache is well-developed (i.e. when he is about seventeen), his future or classificatory W.F. should subincise him. However, I was told that nowadays younger men show a marked lack of enthusiasm for this operation. They claim that it will interfere with their stock work. This excuse is not really valid, as the operation should normally occur in the wet season when there is little or no stock work to be done. The same reason is given for the dropping of the practice of cicatrizing men's chests. Sensitivity to white ridicule is, I think, one of the real reasons for these changes.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

Big Sunday.

This is referred to variously as the *gadjari*, *galwadi*, *gunabibi*, or *molgan*. With appropriate ethnocentric fervour, the men assured me that Limbunya was the really important Big Sunday centre for that area. However that may be, Limbunya is certainly on the Big Sunday circuit ; and George Gape, then a head-stockman at Limbunya, has since informed me that Limbunya was the scene of some of the Big Sunday ceremonies for the 1953-54 season in that area. In this connection, it is probably significant that Limbunya appears to be an important distribution point in the several, well-defined trade routes linking the Ord and Victoria Rivers.

In a ravine near the junction of Horse Creek and the Stirling River, on Limbunya country, there is an almost inaccessable cave called *Guminjirind*(*i*). Forming a frieze about thirty feet long across the wall of this cave are a series of paintings (in kaolin ?) of human figures. The *djagamara*, " caretaker " (of the opposite patrimoiety to the dreaming), who led me to them, stated that the figures represented, or rather were a party of Big Sunday men (*garail*) and youths (*jarulanda*). They were referred to as the sacred arm-blood (*guruŋu*) dreaming; and the track they follow goes on south-east into Walbiri country, where it becomes the *mamandabari* Big Sunday track. Some of the *Guminjirind*(*i*) songs which I recorded are very like certain Walbiri Big Sunday songs. E.g.,

Malŋjin:

guruŋunai	*guruŋuna*	*milidjidi*	*biwaruwaru*	*gaŋgarana*	*lududu mani.*
armblood	armblood	armvein	ritual decorations	" the line "	they take it.

The outside meaning is:

floodwater running, it has gone away.

Walbiri:

milidjiridjiri	*birauwawara*	*gangarana*	*lududu*	*mani*	*guruŋu*	*mandani*
armvein	?	above	?	he gets	armblood	take it
guruŋu	*wirima.*					
armblood	strong.					

Rose River *kudjiga*, Arnhem Land (Berndt, 1951, p. 87):

gulnggaru muruma	*gulnggul' mandangi mandangi.*
smearing with armblood	blood flowing from armvein.

Like the Walbiri, the Limbunya men have bullroarers connected with the Big Sunday cycle. The larger (*c.* 3 ft. × 4 in.) are called *galwadi*, and are similar to those the Walbiri call *djabanba*, or *ŋowaru* (young sister). The smaller (*c.* 6 in. × 1 in.) are called *mandagi*, and are similar to those the Walbiri call *mandagi*, *mana baganu* or *gabidi* (elder sister).

Rain.

At the foot of the huge rockhole behind the homestead is a small cave wherein repose some half dozen spherical, smooth stones, ranging from about 3 in. to 5 in. in diameter. These are the eggs of a *guraid* rain snake. This dreaming belongs to the *djulama-djabada* subsections, whose members alone can rub the stones to make rain when the summer clouds build up in the north-west. Other people may only sing at this ceremony, which may be attended by women and children. The latter may go near this cave at any time.

Less than a quarter of a mile away on a limestone ridge is a flat, limestone slab about 2 ft. 6 in. square. On its upper face is a turtle-shaped, natural marking about 3 in. or 4 in. in diameter. This is *balan*, the fresh-water turtle dreaming. Any adult, at the appropriate season, may rub small pieces of quartz or limestone over this marking so that the resulting powder will cause the rain to fall.

Other Dreamings.

In a small cave called *Buṙunjau* in the limestone ridges a few miles from the homestead, there was a store of sacred, incised boards and bullroarers. No woman could walk within a half mile or so of this case, which was well concealed by scrub. Here I was shown (again by a caretaker of the opposite patrimoiety) seven *gilwaŋarna*, actual bullroarers about 2 ft. long, and three *muŋguwanu* boards, about 6 ft. long. Each represented a dreaming country on a marsupial (*ladaman*) track between Limbunya and Inverway station, about 40 miles to the south. Some of these objects had been made at Limbunya, the rest at Inverway. Some months earlier, other *muŋguwanu* from Inverway had been sent, via Limbunya and Wave Hill, to Hooker Creek to be used in wet season ceremonies and circumcisions. They are still at Hooker Creek. Such deliveries can only be made with the unanimous consent of all the men in the camp.

I gathered that only a few of the older Limbunya men still possessed the skill and ceremonial status required for the manufacture of such objects. It seemed, too, that these same men were largely responsible for the manufacture of the few weapons to be seen around the camp.

At Black Springs, on the Stirling River, certain rocks called *Luŋgarariŋ* form a metamorphosed group of *djabada* and *djulama* men who walked up the Stirling in the dreamtime. This is a " dear " dreaming, whose songs are sung during the Big Sunday ceremonies. North of Black Springs lie a series of picturesque, deep waterholes, all of which are sites on the track followed by these men. They are, from south to north, *Malaŋga*, *Mài:awi*, *Wilibaŋ*, *Balabuŋg* and *Djuŋgu*. None are increase sites, because these dreamtime men did not leave behind any spirit essences at these places. A mile or so to the south of Black Springs is a rugged bluff, *Djinai:aŋgal*, into which a dreamtime kangaroo (*djubunjun* or *djaliŋ*) went. *Djabada* and *djulama* are also " boss " of this " dear " dreaming which is sung during the Big Sunday.

Beside Clear Hole (*Jarawara*) a mile or less from the homestead horse yards, a long, flat rock lies on the river bank. This is blue-tongue lizard (*luŋgara*) dreaming, belonging to the *djulama* subsection. Ceremonies and songs relating to it are performed out in the bush during the Big Sunday, and these increase the supply of lizards which are a prized food. Near this rock are two others, one resting at an angle on top of the other. These are two brown snakes (*djaulwara*) copulating. The male is on top. Once again, the *djulama* subsection is boss, and it is sung, but not danced in the bush during the Big Sunday to increase the species. Neither of these dreamings travelled about ; they emerged, lived and went in at these sites. Women are free to see these rocks.

Although these notes are sketchy in the extreme, they provide, I think, sufficient evidence to indicate that these Limbunya people fit into the general cultural pattern of the north-west Northern Territory. Their social and religious organizations have many elements in common with those of the eastern Kimberley tribes, on the one hand, and with those of the Walbiri, on the other. In view of their geographical position and contacts, this is to be expected. It is to be hoped that more material will soon be gathered from this area, since the population figures suggest that the Limbunya Malŋjin and Gurindʒi will not be with us for much longer.

MERVYN MEGGITT.

Australia: Material Culture. **Gill.**

Aboriginal Midden Sites in Western Victoria Dated by Radiocarbon Analysis.

By Edmund D. Gill, Curator of Fossils, National Museum of Victoria.

When reviewing in this Journal Libby's textbook on *Radiocarbon Dating*, Adam (1954) commented

> "Two Australian examples were submitted by Mr. E. D. Gill (National Museum of Victoria), one from a kitchen midden near Goose Lagoon, in western Victoria, which turned out to be between 1,352 and 1,002 years old; and the other from Koroit Beach, north-west of Warrnambool, Victoria, showing an age of 538±200, i.e. between 738 and 338 years. These figures are certainly interesting, but offer nothing really unexpected or surprising. It would be much more important to have a radiocarbon date of the strata excavated by Hale and Tindale at the Devon Downs years ago, but, of course, this is now impossible."

This comment made me realize that Dr. Adam (and so probably most people) were unaware why these particular samples were chosen, and it seemed a good idea to provide an account of the significance of the sites from which they came.

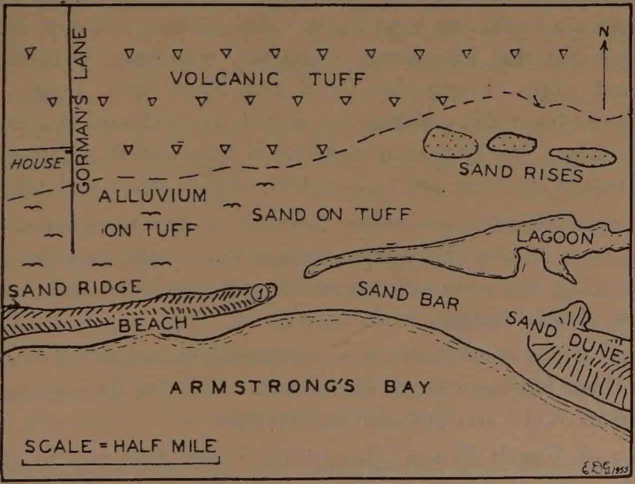


Fig. 1. *Radiocarbon site (marked* 1) *at the Koroit or Tower Hill beach, north-west of Warrnambool, western Victoria. The site is known also as "Gorman's Lane" and "Armstrong's Bay," and is the source of numerous stone and bone artefacts. The lagoon represents a former course of the River Merri, which now debouches at Warrnambool, seven miles away.*

KOROIT BEACH MIDDEN.

Figure 1 shows the setting of this site in one of those sandy environments the Aborigines favoured. The middens stretch continuously along this shore for over a mile. The C14 age determination was made on charcoal collected from the northern end of the midden series at

Merri Cutting. The exact site is shown in a photograph (Plate O) reproduced in an earlier number of this Journal (Gill, 1951), and a surveyed section through the area has also been published (Gill, 1953*a*). This site was chosen for C14 dating for the following reasons :

(1) It is a typical shoreline midden which was selected as a " control " against which older middens associated with earlier shorelines in the same area could be dated.

(2) This site was chosen too because it is the classic locality in Victoria for Aboriginal bone implements. Large numbers of awls, spatulate-ended implements, *muduks*, and such like have been found there. The writer has collected over 90 implements there, and on a recent visit with Mr. H. R. Balfour and Dr. and Mrs. R. Dungan, 23 more were found in spite of considerable recent erosion by the sea. Kenyon (1912), McCarthy (1940) and Campbell and Walsh (1952) have referred to implements from this place. The dating of the Koroit Beach midden by radiocarbon has thus dated the bone industry. Stones can be collected which almost certainly were those on which the implements were made.

(3) The site is rich in stone implements. Stone axes, blanks for axes, cores, many kinds of flakes, simple pebble tools, and hammer stones have been collected by the writer. Thus a rich stone industry accompanies a rich bone one.

(4) The Aborigines who occupied the Koroit Beach midden had a rich diet comprising a wide variety of both sea foods and land foods. The former included whale, seals, fish and molluscs. The latter included kangaroos, wallabies, wombats, possums, bandicoots, rat-kangaroos, native cats, rats, Tasmanian Devil and birds (Gill, 1951). Keferstein (1865) recorded human remains from this midden line, and in the National Museum there is a human jaw collected at this site. The very numerous fossil bones allow a fairly full reconstruction to be made of the fauna of the area, and to date this midden was a real help to scientific study.

(5) The Tasmanian Devil (*Sarcophilus harrisii*) is now extinct on the mainland of Australia, and has been during European occupation of the country. The radiocarbon dating shows how recently this animal lived on the mainland for a number of jaws have been found in the Koroit Beach midden (Gill, 1953*b*).

(6) On this part of the coast there are interesting shoreline structures concerning the formation of which there has been much discussion. The C14 dating has assisted the study by solving the problem of the amount of time involved.

(7) The midden at Koroit Beach (also called Tower Hill beach) is associated with a juvenile soil formed on the sand ridges. This soil is characterized by certain structures and by millions of a particular kind of land snail, whereby it can be traced for great distances, and has been followed as far as the South Australian border. The C14 dating thus gives stratigraphical value to this marker soil, with which Aboriginal middens are commonly associated.

(8) Tower Hill volcano is probably the youngest in Victoria, and the radiocarbon dating along with other evidence has made it possible to date the vulcanism fairly closely (Gill, 1953*a*). It is of the order of 1,000 years old. This youthfulness accounts for the richness of the soils developed on its ash spread. The dating shows how quickly such a soil can form.

(9) But the dating of the volcano has an archæological as well as a geological and pedological advantage. The ash from this volcano overlies an important site on the Merri River at Bushfield, about five miles north of Warrnambool. Keble (1947) reported a basalt

axe and food bones *in situ* under the tuff, while the writer (1953*a*) has mapped the site and described it in more detail. Numerous bones were found *non in situ*, but clearly from the same fossil midden by reason of their type of mineralization and their mode of occurrence. Bone implements were found and also some scrapers with secondary chipping. Fluorine tests have been applied to bones from the Koroit Beach site and the Bushfield site (Gill, 1955). As far as the author is aware, this is the only stratigraphical occurrence of bone implements in Victoria.

(10) A considerable amount of work has been done on the quaternary history of the Warrnambool-Port Fairy area, so that the relative ages of the various formations are pretty well understood. However, some absolute dating was needed and the radiocarbon datings have been a real help. Others have been obtained since the two under discussion.

There were thus ten good reasons for the choice of a sample from the Koroit Beach midden for C14 dating. Adam (*op. cit.*) said the results offered " nothing really unexpected or surprising." This is true of the Koroit Beach sample, but not of the sample from Goose Lagoon.

GOOSE LAGOON MIDDEN.

Figure 2 shows the site (marked 1) whence came the charcoal for the second radiocarbon dating by Professor Libby, viz. 177±175 years. As can be seen by the map, this midden is on the landward side of a lithified calcareous sand dune some 75 feet high, and a long way from the present coastline. It is one of a series of numerous middens ranging from one-third to a mile from the coast. These middens are generally half a chain to a chain in diameter and not very deep. What is now the lagoon was once an arm of the sea, and there are numerous marine fossils to prove this. The edge of the lagoon is an old shoreline, and for a great deal of its length there are old cliffs 15 to 20 feet high. The middens occur on the tops of these cliffs, related to the old shoreline as the present middens are to the present shorelines. Moreover, these middens at Goose Lagoon are characterized by fully marine shells (mostly *Subninella undulata* and limpets)—not estuarine ones. Charcoal is also present and numerous flakes of flint, but no fashioned implements. The middens are just like the recent coastal middens, but are related to a fossil shoreline instead of the present one. A date greater than that obtained was expected. The alternatives are :

(1) These middens are older than the radiocarbon date has indicated. In case this is so, a bracket of specimens consisting of

(*a*) Shells from an inland midden (marked 2 on Fig. 2),

(*b*) Charcoal from the same midden, and

(*c*) Shells from the marine bed at the foot of the cliff below the midden, have been submitted for analysis.

(2) If the middens are of the date obtained from Professor Libby's analysis, then the generally accepted idea that the Aborigines did not carry their sea food inland but consumed it on the shoreline is erroneous. There are no bones in these middens or other evidence that the Aborigines ate food from the lagoon at these sites. No very recent change in shoreline due to moving sandbars or such like has occurred, because the middens rest on æolianite which in turn rests on basalt.

It will be interesting and valuable to know which of the above two explanations of the inland middens at Goose Lagoon is the correct one. The answer may well aid our understanding of many such kitchen middens which are to be seen along our rivers, estuaries, and lagoons in coastal districts.

Finally, it may be explained that 1,177±175 years does not mean between 1,002 and 1,352 years. The ±175 is the possible statistical error in the count. There may possibly also be other errors such as those due to the natural or artificial contamination of the sample, or to inaccuracy in the determination of the half life of radiocarbon. The date 1,177±175 years really means " of the order of 1,177 years." A C14 date is strongest when it is seen to be consistent with the geological and other data which have to do with age.

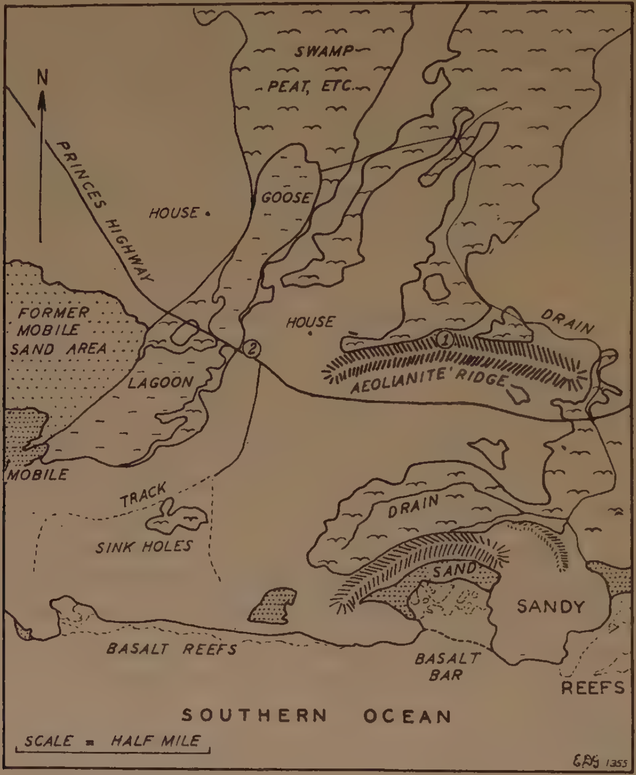


Fig. 2. Map of Goose Lagoon area, four miles west of Port Fairy, western Victoria, drawn from aerial photographs. The unshaded land area is basalt covered to varying depths with æolianite (calcarenite). Site 1 is the Aboriginal kitchen midden from which came the charcoal for Professor Libby's C14 analysis. Site 2 is that from which samples have been taken for a check analysis. For the same purpose marine shells were taken from the east side of the Lagoon, 6½ chains south of Prince's Highway.

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EDMUND D. GILL.

Social Anthropology. Bell.

Observation in Anthropology. *By J. H. Bell, M.A., Teaching Fellow, Department of Anthropology, the University of Sydney.*

The anthropologist whose role is played in the field is an observer, both a direct observer and, by using informants, an indirect observer. For our purposes observation can be divided into (*a*) the crude, common every-day variety that can be termed " uncontrolled," and (*b*) the more careful type of observation used in the various sciences to which the term " controlled " (or " scientific ") is applied. By control is meant " any technique or method which decreases the probability of error in the observation . . . of field data."[1]

Common every-day observation is simply that experienced by all individuals during their waking hours, viz. the observing of certain things that take place within the range of perception of the individual in his daily affairs. Whether a person observes the things that fall within his range of perception depends upon whether the offering stimuli are obtrusive or unobtrusive, selectivity, and so on. If the things are commonplace and unobtrusive, it is less likely that they will be observed. I am less likely to observe three men passing me in a crowded street than I am a nearby collision between two motor cars. I see the two motor cars collide, I hear the crash, I smell the leaking petrol and so on. This obtrusive or spectacular happening, accompanied by attention-catching noises and odours, occurs within my range of perception and I cannot avoid observing it unless I have my eyes closed (or am looking in another direction) and my ears and nose obstructed. In other words, the stimuli are irresistible, presenting extraordinary changes to my sense organs, whereas the fact that three men passed me was so commonplace that my attention was not arrested.

When it is said that common every-day observation is uncontrolled, it is not implied that the observation is necessarily inaccurate. On the contrary, direct observation by untrained individuals is often quite acute and frequently reaches the highest standards of accuracy. " Nobody who has listened to spectators at a football match subsequently discussing the events of the game can doubt that extremely acute observation is quite a common faculty even amongst those who have had little formal education."[2] Furthermore, this is well illustrated from the history of physical science which shows that long before laboratory-controlled experiments were undertaken in physics a great deal was known by ordinary men about material things from common every-day observations, and many of the laboratory experiments in the physical sciences have had as their bases these every-day observations. Similarly, a great deal was known about individual and group behaviour from every-day observations long before psychologists began laboratory experimentation and anthropologists and sociologists began their investigations.

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[1] Lewis, O., " Controls and Experiments in Field Work," p. 457, in Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today*.

On the other hand, of course, it is well known just how inaccurate the uncontrolled observation of the ordinary individual can be. It is in common every-day observation that non-observation and mal-observation are most common. On the one hand, the crude observer is frequently guilty of insensitivity, carelessness, preoccupation, and haste in making observations resulting in the omission of relevant facts, whilst on the other hand he is prone to see things that are not really there at all, distorting what is there to see what he expected to see or what he desired to see, and is frequently guilty of unconsciously substituting his own particular inferences or judgements for the facts he has observed. This point will be taken up below.

" Controlled " observation is the speciality of the trained scientist and implies objectivity and accuracy in observation. In both the physical and social sciences the emphasis is upon objectivity and accuracy on the part of the observer. The physicist, the chemist, and the anthropologist are required to observe accurately in the course of their investigations. In the case of the anthropologist, however (and of social scientists generally), difficulties peculiar to the science have to be recognized and seriously taken into consideration if controlled observation is to be our aim.

One of these difficulties is the nature of the anthropologist's and sociologist's material. Unlike the physical scientist, whose investigations involve inanimate matter, the anthropologist and the sociologist are concerned with the study of the social life of human beings. To make matters more difficult the investigators are part of the great human family themselves. In other words, they are part of the subject of their observations.

This state of affairs affords the investigators great intimacy with their material of observation. As far as observation in our science is concerned, however, this intimacy can, if not watched, be more of a liability than an asset in that it can become an obstacle in the way of the investigators making accurate observations (e.g. by resulting in non-observation, etc.). Why is this so? The anthropologist and the sociologist discover that the people they study have many of the same problems that they themselves face in their every-day life and that the resources used by these people for handling their problems are basically the same as their own. Because of this similarity or commonplaceness, it is easy for the investigator to disregard certain things unintentionally when in the field. In other words, the similarity of material can blind the observer and so make accurate observation difficult. It is interesting to notice that it has been claimed by some that the anthropologist in his investigations of non-literate groups, due both to the bizarre nature of the societies studied and to their relative simplicity as compared with Western society, is less likely to overlook situations and problems and to make more accurate observations than his kinsman, the sociologist, in his study of complex Western society. To some extent this is true, but I fear overmuch has been made of this claim by some anthropologists, with the result that they have only succeeded in deceiving themselves. It so happens that in non-literate societies the bizarre and attention-catching aspects are quite often only superficial aspects of the societies whereas the important and vital social processes are not by any means spectacular in nature.

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[2] Wootton, B., *Testament for the Social Sciences*, p. 68.

Because very little attention has been devoted to the problem of observation in anthropology, the anthropologist is still prone to confuse inferences with original perceptions. " We are continually tempted to suppose that we have observed something, when as a matter of fact we have only inferred it on the basis of insufficient evidence. When we have strong desires, combined with just enough sensory material to work with, it takes unusual restraint to keep from plunging ahead to observational conclusions . . . With an excess of confidence we make our inferences on the basis of clues which we have used successfully in some instances, forgetting that, in a genuinely novel situation, what we need is a clue to something which we have not yet perceived."[3]

Another important problem to be considered in relation to anthropological observation is that of objectivity and " the personal equation "—attempting to keep original observations distinct from the observer's personal judgements, biases, mental stereotypes, and the like. This is an extremely difficult problem in that the most self-conscious anthropologist frequently fails to realize that he has confused his original observations with his own judgements. Nadel sums this up when he writes : " Where the human being is the only ' instrument ' of observation, the observer's ' personal equation ' must be all-pervading ; and where the data observed are once more human data, the observer's personality might easily override the best intentions of objectivity . . . The anthropological observer remains under the influence of his personality. He cannot but see with his eyes, hear with his ears, and unconsciously respond to a context emotionally weighted with the emotional side of his nature."[4]

Some anthropologists seek to apologize for the lack of objectivity in anthropology by indicating that the anthropologist, unlike the physical scientist, does not possess a series of instruments to aid him in " observing " primary facts and so keep them untarnished by personal judgements. Physical science has long been aware of the intrusion of the observer's personal judgements on his primary observations, and in an effort to keep the two distinct the scientist was subjected to rigorous training in scientific method, retests became an essential part of experimentation, and delicate instruments were introduced to aid in " observing " facts. It is important to note that the instruments did not do away with the physical scientist as an observer dependent upon his sense organs, but merely supplemented the sense organs, a point sometimes overlooked by apologetic and envious anthropologists. For example, the physical scientist makes use of instruments like the thermometer, which he uses to ascertain the temperature of, say, the liquid he is heating, but he is still required to read (observe) the thermometer to ascertain the temperature of the liquid. So it is that in spite of instruments the physical scientist's sense organs still have their important part to play. There is no doubt that training in scientific method and the introduction of instruments have resulted in minimizing the confusion between original observations and personal judgements, but physical science in its search for objectivity recognizes the impossibility of an observer observing a pure primary fact untarnished by personal judgement even with the help of instruments. For as Friend and Feibleman say, " pure bruteness of experience . . . has never been entertained by anyone . . . no sensation has ever taken place without some kind of minimal judgement. We cannot see red without the idea of redness or the understanding of something red."[5]

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[3] Larrabee, H., *Reliable Knowledge*, p. 145.

[4] Nadel, F., *The Foundations of Social Anthropology*, pp. 48,49.

That anthropologists have not used instruments to aid them in their task of observing is more or less true. Anthropology still relies almost solely upon the observer's unassisted sense organs and often failing to realize that such organs are limited in range and in the fineness of discrimination and are subject to fatigue and adaptation which can result in variations in the observations of the one observer. As anthropologists become more conscious of the problems associated with observation and of the limitations of the human observer and his sense organs more attention will undoubtedly be paid to the question of " observing " instruments.

In the physical sciences retests are now an established part of any investigation, the retesting frequently being undertaken by independent observers. In the retests the observers either come to some approximate coincidence in their observations or they do not. If they do, then (broadly speaking) a scientific fact is established. " Once such a coincidence is carefully observed, we expect it to be confirmed or verified by any normal observer anywhere. That does not mean that all human beings are capable of making coincidence observations with the same degree of fineness. But it does mean that all ' normal ' human beings are sufficiently alike to make possible wide areas of agreement within recognizable margins of error due to individual differences."[6] In the physical sciences such retests are relatively easy in that the subject of observation (inanimate material) is sufficiently lasting or stable at different periods of time for such retests to be made (e.g. copper has always burnt with a green flame and always will). In the social sphere there is a different problem. Human society is dynamic, the speed of change being determined by both internal and external factors. For this reason the practice has not grown up in anthropology of sending a second anthropologist into some society to check the observations of an earlier one. Even if the change had been slow, the second anthropologist's personal equation and the effect of his presence on the host society could result in many of his observations not approximating those of his predecessor. The problem of the observer's presence altering that being observed is very real in anthropology and allowances must be made for it. This problem does not arise in the physical sciences.

So far this paper has been concerned with outlining some of the obstacles which hinder the anthropologist from making precise observations of his subject matter. That such obstacles be emphasized is important, for through knowing them we are better able, if not to overcome them completely, then certainly to lessen their effects and so proceed further in the direction of controlled observation. Controlled observation is imperative in our discipline if we are to produce precise and accurate facts from which fruitful generalizations of social behaviour will emerge. Just as in the physical sciences, controlled observation in anthropology can yield generalizations of a high degree of probability. Of this there need be no doubt.

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[5] Friend, J., and Feibleman, J., *What Science Really Means*, p. 123.

[6] Larrabee, H., *op. cit.*, p. 136.

With this in view there can be no argument that the anthropologist's aim should be better management and improvement of observation. This can be achieved by special training. That an observer's powers of observation can be developed and improved by training is supported by the writings of the psychologists (e.g. see the chapter dealing with observation in any introductory text on psychology).

The form that this special training should take for the anthropologist has yet to be decided, but it seems that it should include (*a*) a rigorous training in scientific method with emphasis in this instance upon the relevant problems concerned with observation, and (*b*) a knowledge of the psychology of observation. This would acquaint the anthropological observer with such things as the observational processes of attention and perception, the laws of selectivity and combination in observation, the limitations of the sense organs, the span of apprehension, illusions and the like. The awareness of the technical side of the observational process will help make the anthropologist a self-conscious observer.

Some writers have gone further than this in suggesting that anthropologists should also be trained in psychology.[7] I do not agree that one must be a fully-trained psychologist (if this is what the claimants mean) before one can be an anthropologist. I have spoken to psychologists who claim that there would be little of use to the anthropologist in a course on advanced psychology. Similarly, when I advocate training in scientific method for the anthropologist, I do not see him in the role of a professional philosopher!

Nadel[8] makes the suggestion that all intending anthropologists should be subjected to " some form of psychological testing," for this " will offer, to the field worker himself, the necessary knowledge of his ' personal equation.' " By being aware of his biases, etc., the anthropologist can develop some control over them. Some advocates have gone even further in suggesting psycho-analysis for anthropologists, and some have undergone analysis for the reason of understanding themselves.[9] Lewis, commenting on analysis for anthropologists, writes: " I have been told by at least two anthropologists that they believe their field work improved considerably thereafter. But this is one of those uncontrolled controls in which it is difficult to measure or evaluate the supposed improvement. Perhaps a more convincing case could be made for analysis if the analysis were published, so that we could read the analysis and the monograph hand in hand! "[10] This is not such an extraordinary request as it might seem on first reading. By analysis the observer becomes aware of personal facts which remain private in that he does not divulge them, that is they remain one-man knowledge. However, he uses these private facts to improve his observation of external facts that can be expressed publicly. As there is no place in science for private facts, the above request is not so unreasonable after all.

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[7] Bartlett, F. C., " Psychological Methods and Anthropological Problems," *Africa*, Vol. X, pp. 416-8.

[8] Nadel, F., *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[9] Nadel, F., *Ibid.*, and Lewis, O., *op. cit.*, p. 457.

[10] Lewis, O., *ibid.*

There are other points that could be discussed with regard to this training plan (and I hope that through this and other anthropological journals they will be) but the lack of space must prevent any attempt at an exhaustive compilation. The points briefly mentioned, however, are sufficient to indicate that the obstacles to accurate observation outlined in the first part of this paper can be overcome to a large degree if not entirely eliminated.

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Social Anthropology. **Fink.**

Techniques of Observation and Their Social and Cultural Limitations.

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In an introductory paper on field techniques in anthropology published in this Journal Bell[1] mentioned the several observational techniques that have been used by field workers in their study of non-literate societies ranging from " going native " through various levels of participant observation to " pure " observation. Here we review in more detail some of these observational standpoints.

In this paper we shall discuss some of the difficulties which confront field workers who try to follow through the aim of studying society as a whole. Even when native societies were relatively stable, as in Malinowski's studies, the techniques of observation allowed one only to approximate this aim. Now that the subject-matter of anthropology has altered, and studies of large changing native societies and modern European ones have been attempted, the techniques used by early anthropologists and the assumptions upon which they rested have had to be modified considerably.

The chief problem of observation is " how to station the observer in relation to the whole gamut of events."(1) Any society exists in both space and time yet an observer has a very limited range in both these dimensions. " No single individual can investigate the whole field of human activities ; even in a small community he will not have time or opportunity to observe the habits of daily life of both sexes of all ages ; all economic, ritual, and recreational activities ; all law, customs and institutions."((2), p. 31). In some ways the problem of stationing the observer is a problem in sampling. If the whole society and all behaviours are our universe, then the anthropologist is confronted with the task of obtaining significant samples of that universe, since he cannot observe or record the whole universe. He needs to sample social situations in the society on the one hand, and individual informants on the other. Formerly the problem of sampling was conveniently solved by an assumption of cultural homogeneity, but Tumin(3) has cast doubt upon the validity of this assumption and Merton(4) presents empirical evidence which further weakens it.

Psychologists have shown that the two most difficult things to control in social research are the impact of the scientist upon the phenomena of study and his " personal equation."

Jahoda maintains that one can reduce the interference factor of a social scientist (*a*) by reducing the social distance between subject and investigator, and (*b*) by selecting research instruments which fit into a familiar pattern.(5)

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[1] Bell, J. H., " Field Techniques in Anthropology," MANKIND, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 3-8.

These two measures have long been known to anthropologists, and the observational standpoints used in field work are designed to reduce both social distance and to suit the particular society that is studied. The following analysis has tried to isolate various ideal types of observation, in order to show them in contrast and review their respective merits—it should be borne in mind that probably no actual field work can ever neatly fit into these

Chart Summarizing the Main Observational Standpoints Used in Field Work in Social Anthropology.

	" Genuine Participant " e.g. Curt Nimuendaju[1].(7)	" Pseudo-Participant," e.g. F. Kluckhohn(10) in Mexico.	" Incomplete-Participant," e.g. B. Malinowski,(14) Trobriands.	" Non-Participant " Active Interviewer, e.g. Audrey Richards,(23) Africa
Direct observation	×	×	×	×
Indirect observation through interview ..	—	—	×	×
People unaware of being observed	×	×	—	—
People told research intentions	—	—	×	×
Observer retains role of outside investigator	—	—	×	×
Observer seeks roles and occupations defined by the community	×	×	—	—
Uses selected informants and direct questions	—	—	×	×
Uses indirect informants, indirect questioning and passive interviews..	?	×	×	? Optional
Observer respects native taboos but does not adopt native customs	—	—	×	×
Observer adopts some native customs.. ..	—	×	—	—
Observer " goes native "	×	—	—	—
Observer shares in native activities	But restricted by community role ×	×	Restricted by role as outsider ×	—
Observer uses special procedures such as collecting genealogies, census taking, map making, psychological testing, obtaining myths, dreams, personal documents	—	—	×	×
Learns or speaks native language	×	×	×	? Optional
Can use interpreter	—	—	×	×
Observer can take notes	—	—	×	×
Observer may live outside community ..	—	—	—	×

Idea for constructing this chart came from Laswell's article(1a).

categories—during its course it may actually range through all of them, and even the examples given in the chart only approximate the type described.

The four main observational standpoints run in a sort of continuum from " genuine-participation " to " non-participation."[2] The use of a particular type is limited partly by the temperament and purpose of the observer and partly by the particular society being studied. Some societies will only allow " pseudo-participation," others will only tolerate " incomplete-participation " and some will only allow " non-participation." Thus Florence Kluckhohn had to become a " pseudo-participant " in New Mexico because the population was a strong minority inflamed on ethnic issues and would not have permitted " incomplete-participation " with its more direct methods. Evans-Pritchard had to be a " pseudo-participant " among the Nuer, yet among the Azande he could only remain as a " non-participant."

" Among the Azande I was compelled to live outside the community. Among the Nuer I was compelled to be a member of it. Azande treated me as a superior ; Nuer as an equal."(6)

I. THE " GENUINE-PARTICIPANT "

This type of observer has been included here because he represents an extreme and because he resembles in many ways the next type called " pseudo-participant." The " genuine-participant " is one who tries to enter a community as a native, and to adopt the customs of the society. He reduces his interference as a stranger to a minimum, but at the same time his relationships with the natives are on a personal basis and both transference and counter-transference are maximized. Such an observer loses in objectivity what he has gained in rapport. In fact most anthropologists do not regard the " genuine-participant " as a scientific observer at all. " Genuine-participation " has never been advocated as a field technique—many writers warn against it.

" Notes and Queries " writes of it ((2), pp. 31-32) : " The investigator, though he may be accepted as a participator, cannot really be incorporated into native life without altering the social situation considerably both as regards his reactions vis-a-vis the natives and their attitude towards him. There may be some hardy individuals who can undertake to live as the natives do, but for most investigators, especially in tropical areas, this is not practicable. Further . . . it involves psychological and sociological adjustments far more difficult than that of eating unaccustomed food . . . The investigator must become a participator instead of an observer ; this cannot but influence both his emotional and intellectual outlook, and completely change his methodological approach."

There have been cases of " genuine-participation." For example, Curt Nimuendaju'(7) lived and died among the Indians of Amazonia and became an ethnographic authority on the area. Frank Cushing is another, who " became so identified with the people that he refused to continue publishing his Zuni data "((8), p. 435). Even in these two cases it is doubtful whether one can speak of them as genuine-participants in the sense that they became completely assimilated to native culture. As Nadel rightly points out, " The anthropologist can only be a ' freak ' member of the group, not only because of the conspicuous differences in physical characteristics which often exist, but also because of inevitable social incompatbilities " ((9), p. 362).

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[2] Few writers have bothered to separate out the different types of participant observation, and there were no terms in existence which expressed the meanings conveyed here, so it was necessary to coin names for the four types. These are " genuine-participation," " pseudo-participation," " incomplete participation " and " non-participation."

Since we have regarded " genuine-participation " as unscientific, it seems unnecessary to discuss it further, and we can turn to " pseudo-participation."

II. The " Pseudo-Participant "

Florence Kluckhohn has given the most complete statement of this technique and its range, relevance and reliability.(10) Outwardly it resembles " genuine-participation," but there are subtle differences. In both cases the observer does not disclose his true purpose in entering the community and tries to find a role for himself within the society. But while the " genuine-participant " really wishes to " become a native " and tries to identify himself completely with the community, the " pseudo-participant " has no desire to identify himself beyond the extent necessary for playing his role, and he is always conscious of his true role as an observer. He is a sort of " sham " participant.

Florence Kluckhohn has defined " pseudo-participation " as " conscious and systematic sharing in so far as circumstances permit, in the life activities and on occasion, in the interests and effects of a group of persons. Its purpose is to obtain data about behaviour through direct contact and in terms of specific situations."(10)

The observer tries to make the observed aware that he is a participant, and he therefore systematically seeks for roles in the playing of which he can be regarded as a participant. Thus, Kluckhohn argues, the group will not have to adjust to an outsider in an unfamiliar role (i.e. as researcher) if he assumes a role which has definitions in terms of the community's set of organized statuses. He must find an occupation which is in accord with the community's organized activities (Florence Kluckhohn acted as housewife, assistant storekeeper and entered the local school as a pupil to learn Spanish).

Advantages of the technique are:

(1) It affords access to data which come from the observation of community members in real life situations and is thus more reliable than information obtained through direct interviews, questionnaires or life histories. In some groups certain types of data are guarded closely, and would not be revealed to strangers yet. Kluckhohn writes: " Simulation of behaviour in participation may reveal this, e.g., it was through a gradual simulation of a Spanish-American woman's fear that I obtained most of my information about witch-craft and other beliefs, jealously guarded by Spanish Americans."(10)

(2) It affords access to gossip and sheds light on the " socially approved " patterns of behaviour.

(3) " Pseudo-participation " increases the desire of informants to speak because the participant is " an apprentice who is learning, not an all-seeing demi-god who has come to question coldly and record."(10)

(4) The " pseudo-participant " can overcome the feeling on the part of people that he is disapproving of their behaviour. Those who are capable of this type of observation can usually overcome this aspect of their " personal equation."

Disadvantages of the technique are:

(1) That it has a limited application. It is only possible where the social distance between observer and observed is not noticeably great, and where the observer can fit naturally into the social setting.

In Mexico, where Florence Kluckhohn worked, there had been other American outsiders who had settled and even married into the community and there had been a woman trader for many years. An American woman such as Kluckhohn could adapt fairly easily to the customs, dress and food of the society. One can hardly conceive of this technique being applied by a European anthropologist in, say, the New Guinea highlands. A white man or woman would stand out both physically and culturally to such an extent that he simply could not take up gardening or other occupations in the community and expect to be regarded as a participant. He would appear as a " freak " both to the natives and to the local Europeans and it is unlikely that he would gain very much, apart from personal discomfort. The most that can usually be achieved is a compromise such as is described in the next category of " incomplete-participation." It is probable that a European can act successfully as a " pseudo-participant " only among a group who have intermarried with Europeans or who have had close dealings with them so that there are already existent roles or occupations in the society which a European could take up. " Pseudo-participation " among native communities would seem most suitable for trained native anthropologists or other persons who resemble physically the group (as did An-Che among the Zuni).(11)

(2) The observer's range of observation is restricted by his role in the society.[3]

He must abide by the rules regarding sex, age, status and occupation and he cannot freely go wherever he chooses. If he is a young man he may not be able to observe elders or children, if a woman, then she cannot usually observe male activities.

(3) Since the " pseudo-participant " does not reveal his identity as a research worker, nor his true purpose in being in the community, he cannot use any of the ordinary aids to ethnographic work. He cannot use selected informants, but must rely on people whom he meets. Furthermore, he cannot use any testing devices (intelligence tests, questionnaires, projective techniques). This may be a disadvantage in some types of research, but not in others; it depends on what is being investigated.

(4) Another disadvantage of " pseudo-participation " is that the observer cannot take notes while he is in view of other people. A lot depends upon the powers of the investigator. Some people have " photographic memories " and can recall very accurately, but few people possess this gift. Furthermore, the " pseudo-participant " must be well versed in the language, for he usually cannot use an interpreter. A knowledge of the language is important in all types of observation, but especially in " pseudo-participation " for the observer must immediately understand the innuendoes of what is said since he cannot take any notes.

III. THE " INCOMPLETE-PARTICIPANT "

Malinowski was one of the first to use and describe this technique. It has since become one of the most commonly used by social anthropologists. The observer lives in the community and joins in its activities but he does not play a role set by the community. He openly pursues his research aims. He uses traditional ethnographic techniques for collecting what Malinowski called " objective documents," " records of historical events, samples of tradition, folk lore and magic " ((13), p. 284). He may collect genealogies, conduct house-to-house enquiries, or perhaps use tests and collect dreams and personal documents. He can conduct formal and informal interviews with informants, and he takes notes on everything that he observes.

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[3] Du Bois points out that " pseudo-participation " may involve one in local factions and that there will be unavoidable emotional connotations which would not occur with a stranger.(12)

The " incomplete-participant " is usually introduced into the community by a sponsor—in Malinowski's case, the resident European trader. The choice of a sponsor is important, for the community's acceptance of the observer usually depends upon the prestige of the local sponsor. Most anthropologists have also allied themselves with the local chief or leader once they settled in the community[4]—often they are given an honorary kinship status in the chief's family. Hortense Powdermaker, for example, writes of her entry into Lesu: " I was particularly fortunate in that the chief or ' lulai ' was a very intelligent and fine person. His wife . . . announced that she was my sister, and it followed naturally that her mother became my mother. Their house was opposite mine, and from the very beginning a warm friendship grew up. The chief, his family and most of the Lesu people developed an attitude of responsibility for my welfare " ((15), p. 16).

Once the anthropologist has settled in the community he may take part in native life. Some anthropologists, for example, Dr. Fortune in Dobu,(16) have kept a garden or engaged in other native economic activities. This resembles " pseudo-participation," but the attitude of the community towards the observer is different. Malinowski, for instance, was constantly seen by the natives, so that they ceased to be alarmed or made self-conscious by his presence, but they knew that he would be interested in everything, " even where well-mannered natives would not intrude. They finished up by regarding me as part and parcel of their life, a necessary evil or nuisance, mitigated by donations of tobacco."(14)

Herskovits comments: " It is apparent that even here, whatever the adaptation to his presence that was achieved, the stranger remained a foreign element in the minds of the people, and an element that might, so to speak, induce a state of indigestion in the body politic " ((17), p. 84).

Advantages of the technique are:

(1) It has wider application than " pseudo-participation." Since the observer remains a stranger, he can use it in societies which differ markedly from his own as do the Oceanic societies where it has been used.

(2) Both " genuine " and " pseudo " participation chiefly depended upon direct observation. The observer was therefore almost entirely confined to events which occurred during his stay, and he could not obtain any systematic account of the past without arousing suspicion. The " incomplete-participant " and the " non-participant " are not handicapped

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[4] Malinowski's best friend and informant in Omarakana village was Bagidou ((13), p. 284), who was heir apparent to the chief, and later became chief. Most of his informants came from the high ranking families.

In the Amphletts, where Malinowski had no sponsor and where there were no chiefs but only elders who wield authority, his arrival was an untoward event, for the natives—a white man rarely comes and they would not allow him to stay. " It must be remembered that owing to my presence, no woman except one or two old hags were visible from the shore. All my best informants were gone " ((14), p. 377). He was unsuccessful there, and repeatedly writes that the people were very bad informants.

in this way. They can use informants, to obtain a more diachronic picture. Informants can relate events which have occurred during their lifetime and can thus fill in the details of happenings which may not occur during the anthropologist's visit. For example, deaths, births, crimes or ceremonies which occur at irregular intervals.

(3) The " incomplete-participant " is not so restricted in his range of observation as the " pseudo-participant." He can observe different age groups, sometimes both sexes, and he can watch all sorts of activities which he could not do if he had a fixed role within the society. Also, the mere fact of being a stranger and disinterested outsider can be of advantage. The notion of " stranger-value " was developed by James Plant,(18) who argues that a " wall of status-preservation " is erected by an individual in a community, but if a stranger comes there is no need to fear or to preserve status. This is especially marked in chance meetings, such as on boats or trains. Strange persons may be told confidences unfit for the ears of those who live with one. This " stranger-value " is more marked in " non-participant " observation.

(4) As mentioned above the observer can take notes, and his reports will therefore be more accurate.

Disadvantages of the technique:

(1) *Sponsor Identification.* We saw how the " incomplete-participant " needs a sponsor for entry into the society. This can lead to concealment and lying on the part of informants who fear that the ethnologist is connected with a government (if he is introduced by a local official) and may be spying on them for taxation purposes or for violations of the law.(19) If he is introduced by a missionary the people may try to conceal religious ceremonies from him, or, worse, they may actually be afraid and embarrassed about performing them. This is well described in *Sun Chief* (ed. Simmons). There, during a performance of the bean ceremony, the dancers saw that the white school principal and a missionary were present, and they could not go on with the dance. Don spoke to the school teacher: " Well, white man, you want to see what goes on, don't you? You have spoiled our prayers and it may not rain. You think this business is vulgar, but it means something sacred to us " ((20), p. 190).

(2) The fact that the observer remains a stranger may hinder him from obtaining information on areas which are taboo within the society. He may also be prevented from viewing certain ceremonies. This will usually apply more to the " non-participant " than to the " incomplete-participant " for the former has the greater stranger value.

(3) The observer's role in the society is less structured and more ambiguous than with " pseudo-participation." People are usually unfamiliar with what the observer is trying to do, since few native societies understand the real meaning of an anthropologist's work. Polansky has shown how a researcher's unstructured role can make him a " natural repository for projective mechanisms of defence."(21) This has frequently happened to " incomplete-participants." Robert Bain, who studied a laundry factory, got on well with the workers until the management began sacking people. Then he had to discontinue his research because everyone accused him of spying for the management.(22) Malinowski went on a boating trip, and when the trip failed, he was blamed.(14) Maud Oakes was accused of being a witch because a child whom she had treated died ((8), p. 439) and so on. Thus the more structured role of a " pseudo-participant " can have its advantages.

(4) " *Non-participation.*" Many of the features of this approach have already been discussed under " incomplete-participation." The research worker uses informants, interviews and questionnaires or testing devices. He usually does not live within the society, or only for a short period, and therefore there is comparatively little direct observation as compared with the other types. It is really a " sociological " approach. Anthropologists have used it when participation was not permissible to the people, or when the society is so segmented or large that participation would not be desirable. The study of large native and European societies, for instance, demands a more sociological technique. The ethnographic method, with its intensive study of a small area, may give a distorted picture of a large society.

We may consider Audrey Richard's work in Africa(23) as an example of a " non-participant " approach. Richards is among those field workers who have recognized the limitations of the traditional field techniques when they are applied in a changing society. She found that anthropologists in Africa had to modify the techniques which had been primarily evolved for use in Oceania. African tribes cover large areas, number many thousands, and are in continual contact with one another and with Europeans.

An historical approach becomes essential ; the anthropologist cannot study the society " as it functions " without a knowledge of what it was like, for cultural change has been very rapid. Since there are few documents or newspapers available, informants have to be interviewed intensively to reconstruct the past. The anthropologist has also to analyse all sorts of evidence apart from statements made by informants. For instance, in order to study tribal law and morality, he has to attend native courts and analyse divorce and marriage rates—only then can he understand people's attitudes.

Richards realizes the need for adequate sampling and documentation. She writes : " Most existing accounts of African society were merely dictated to the anthropologists at the tent door. Documentation is imperative in a changing society—anthropologists are deceived by the appearances of people. The man in the lounge suit, whom he did not think to question, is the chief diviner—a fellow clad in a bundle of rags refuses his medicine, saying ' You white people always give us epsoms, I would like two tablets of aspirin."(23) To obtain a proper sample, she interviewed every member of the village for about half an hour. She also used a questionnaire on various aspects.

" Non-participant " observation of the type described above is extensive in its scope and may sacrifice to thorough documentation the insight of more penetrating studies done by participation. It relies heavily upon the use of informants, and thereby raises a host of problems.

These, then, are some of the main observational standpoints. Many of the riddles of field observation still remain unsolved. At least one lesson has been learnt, though, and that is that any observation in anthropology involves close inter-personal relationships between the observer and what he observes—there can never be that impersonal relationship which exists between the physical scientist and his data.

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RUTH FINK.

Australia: Material Culture. **McCarthy.**

Notes on the Cave Paintings of Groote and Chasm Islands in the Gulf of Carpentaria. *By F. D. McCarthy, Dip.Anthr., Curator of Anthropology, Australian Museum.*

This paper[1] is a preliminary report on work carried out in 1948 as a member of the Australian and American Arnhem Land Expedition. It is a summary[2] of the conclusions reached in an analysis of the pictographs in 45 galleries on Groote and Chasm Islands, in the Gulf of Carpentaria, northern Australia. These sites contain some 2,400 paintings, but there are probably as many more in other galleries yet to be recorded on these two islands. Historically they are of interest because paintings on Chasm Island seen by Captain Flinders and some of his officers during the voyage of 1802–03 were the first pictographs reported in Australia. Some of the paintings at Talimbo, which I did not visit, have been described by Tindale (1926) and at Angoroko by Rose (1942).

Apart from providing a complete record of the galleries examined, two other purposes were involved in this study. One was to ascertain the chronology of the styles and colours employed by a study of the superimposed paintings, the other to find out the relative frequency of occurrence of the subjects, styles and colours by an analysis of the pictographs in the various galleries. The latter occur as rock-shelters and caverns in quartzite, and as this rock offers a remarkably smooth and flat surface to the artist, it is eminently suitable for pictographic work.

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[1] Read at Section F of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science meeting in Sydney, 1952, and published with the permission of the Board of Trustees of the Australian Museum.

[2] A full description of these galleries, illustrated by scale charts, was completed in 1953 and is awaiting publication in the official reports of the Expedition to be issued by the Commonwealth Government of Australia.

SUBJECTS.

Outstanding among the subjects in the galleries are the fishing groups in which are shown both bark and dugout canoes. The fish, dugongs and turtles shown harpooned in these compositions are invariably huge in comparison to the size of the canoes and fishermen. Hunting incidents are rarely portrayed, the finest one being a kangaroo hunt.

In the Groote and Chasm Islands paintings practically all of the human figures are men, and most of them, particularly the linear " stick-type," are participating in hunting, fishing and dancing activities. Very few women are depicted, the most important exception being Jundurruna's wife, shown under his arm at Jundurruna on Groote Eylandt (as in the Lightning Brothers' group at Delamere, Northern Territory, recorded by Davidson, 1936). Jundurruna is an ancestral being, but the mythology of the Ingura people on Groote Eylandt is not so anthropomorphized as that of the mainland tribes of Arnhem Land, consequently the human figure is not featured so prominently in the former's pictographs.

Among the land mammals, the kangaroos and wallabies are by far the commonest represented. The bandicoot, possum, echidna and dingo are also occasionally depicted.

Birds are also uncommon, the range of species being restricted to the jabiru, heron, native companion (it is difficult to distinguish between them), scrub-hen or pigeon, emu, goose and a few other indeterminate kinds. In two instances the eggs are shown.

Snakes are uncommon, while the goanna and blue-tongue are the best represented among the lizards. Turtles are a popular subject and with one the eggs and tracks are also shown.

Edible fish of many kinds, and some dangerous kinds such as sharks, sawfish and sting-rays, are well represented. Among those identifiable are the eagle-ray and sunfish. With the fish should be considered as a marine group the dolphin, dugong and turtle, all of which are of great economic value and which have, consequently, a high frequency of representation. Fishing groups are commonly occurring subjects which, allied with the bark and dugout canoes, the fishing gear and the fish, make fishing the principal subject depicted throughout the 45 galleries.

Spears, clubs, a stone knife, a shield and boomerangs comprise the range of weapons shown. An interesting point of note is that there are depicted hafted stone axes of Aboriginal type, and metal axes of both Indonesian and European types, thus illustrating an interesting culture change which took place during the cave painting period. None of these implements is present in large numbers, even though some of them are important elements of the Ingura culture, and others are of types not now used in the area. The only domestic utensils portrayed are a few twined baskets and a container, the reason for this deficiency apparently being that the women did none of the paintings and probably did not see the majority of them.

The limited range of ritual articles represented comprise sacred posts and designs, the north-west wind or *bara* design, some ornaments, and other indeterminate objects, all of which are rare paintings.

The conch-shell, used as a trumpet by successful fishermen, and several insect-like figures, are the only invertebrates among the paintings, but these, like the plants of which only two figures were seen, belong mostly to the women's sphere.

Among the stencils it will be noticed that the human hand is the most abundant subject featured, the foot and boomerang being fairly common, but the others represented in this technique—basket, blue-tongue lizard, and indeterminate figures—are unique in each instance.

Perusal of the above range of subjects illustrates how limited a selection was made by the Aboriginal artists of the motifs available in their tribal artefacts as a whole, in their daily social and ritual life and in their economic and magical activities. The analysis has shown that fishing and hunting, with the animals and apparatus associated with them, are the predominant motifs in these galleries. The high frequency of dolphins, turtles and fish, and relatively of kangaroos or wallabies, the most important sources of flesh food, suggests that the economic field was the major inspiration for this art. This relationship between art and daily life helps to explain the exclusion in the cave paintings of many other objects used in the daily and ritual life of the people. The analysis has demonstrated clearly, also, that the paintings are essentially the work of the men—they portray very few articles belonging to the women and none of their economic or other activities.

Another source of inspiration for these pictographs undoubtedly lies in the ritual life of the men, but just how important it is cannot be decided until it is further examined in the field, but limitations of time made it impossible for me to obtain interpretations. It might be said that, although this art has a totemic association in the limited number of totems portrayed, its basic inspiration is not totemism. In the modern bark paintings, however, most of the subjects are totems of the artists and their relatives, although fishing and astronomical motifs are also depicted. Similarly, whether the desire to gain a magical control over the animals depicted is one of the basic reasons inspiring the cave paintings is not known. The question is largely one of whether a painting was made before or after the incident took place or animal was portrayed. The recording of fishing and hunting feats, narrated by the artist, would appear to have inspired some of the paintings. Natives with whom I camped often made figures in the sand or soft soil beside the fireplace, which, besides being æsthetic representations of animals and their tracks, are records of fishing and hunting incidents whose story is narrated by the artist as he proceeds with the work. The portrayal of the ancestral beings Jundurruna and his wife, and Imatoija the stingray, at Jundurruna, and a series of large human figures at Angoroko, both on Groote Eylandt, prove clearly that the Dreamtime mythology is associated with some of the paintings, while others may symbolize such important historical events as the introduction of the bark canoe, dugout canoe, detachable harpoon and metal axes. It is probable, furthermore, that although the subjects of these pictographs have changed as time progressed, the reason for painting, the basic inspiration, and the traditional subjects have not altered now that painting appears to be carried on very casually, or not at all in the caves, and is more customarily done on sheets of bark for sale.

I have made a similar analysis of the subjects depicted in the outline rock engravings in the Sydney-Hawkesbury district of eastern New South Wales, and a comparison of them with those of the pictographs of Groote and Chasm Islands reveals some interesting parallels and differences. Among the above engravings, fish, kangaroos and wallabies have a higher frequency of occurrence than all other subjects. In this area, however, while the economic life is thus an important source of inspiration, it is combined with a much greater frequency of ritual subjects, such as numerous ancestral and legendary beings and their activities, tracks and weapons, than is the case with the paintings on Groote and Chasm Islands. Among the engravings, too, subjects such as dolphins, dugongs and turtles are extremely rare. The dugongs and turtles were probably not as plentiful in the Port Jackson area as they were in the warmer Gulf waters, and in any case such large marine creatures as the three above were much harder to capture or kill without the detachable harpoon which was not known along the coast of New South Wales. Whales are a common subject in the engravings, but they are not shown as pictographs on Groote and Chasm Islands even though they occur in the surrounding waters. A wider range of mammals and hunting incidents form motifs among the engravings, but a similar low frequency of birds, snakes, invertebrates and plants occurs in both the paintings and engravings being discussed. Lizards are common in both localities. Weapons occur more frequently as single subjects among the engravings, where shields have a very high frequency, than in the Groote and Chasm paintings. There are thus important similarities and differences in the art of these two coastal areas which may be understood only in terms of cultural inspiration and variation.

The artistic merit of the paintings is equal to that of pictographs elsewhere in Australia where naturalistic pictographs are found. In postures, animation and stylization the Groote and Chasm paintings are very similar to these characteristics in the Sydney-Hawkesbury engravings. Detailed recording will probably demonstrate that these characteristics are valid for most of the naturalistic pictographs and petroglyphs in Australia. As a case in point, the elimination of the line work from the well known X-ray paintings of western Arnhem Land leaves silhouettes possessing the same anatomical and artistic features and peculiarities as silhouettes elsewhere in northern Australia. The art form is a general one in the Groote and Chasm caves, and although it cannot be divided into schools in a similar manner to the bark paintings of Groote Eylandt, it can, nevertheless, be differentiated according to striking differences which exist between the styles employed.

Colour is not used to reveal body contours, feather or fur areas, nor the natural colours of the subjects on Groote and Chasm Islands ; it is simply a flat monotone in silhouette form. The sexual organs are not emphasized in the majority of the figures in these caves.

In size, the figures range from miniature to life-size, and in some instances to gigantic representations. Large paintings are common in these galleries, and include dugongs up to 12 ft. long, a shark 12 ft. 3 in. long, a turtle 6 ft. long, and many others. The size of the pictures compared with that of the wall space is of some interest. In one gallery on Chasm Island advantage has been taken by the artist of a long and high flat wall to paint large figures of dolphins, turtles and fish—up to 10 ft. long—but in another site, a tiny hole in a cliff face, the figures are limited to between 6 in. and 21 in. in length. Such a close relationship between size of pictographs and space is not, however, a general one. Most of the galleries on Chasm Island, and many of the rock-shelters on Groote Eylandt (particularly at Angoroko), are comparatively small, but in many of them much larger figures than are represented could have been painted had the artists desired. Similarly, the extensive but low ceiling of Jundurruna 1 on Groote Eylandt displays a majority of small figures. On the other hand, in both the Jundurruna 2 and Onguruku 1 galleries the large and high ceilings appear to have induced the production of big figures. In none of the sites has any attempt been made, with the exception perhaps of Chasm 8D (abovementioned), to treat the whole of the wall or ceiling in the mass for a single composition, but the rock engravers of the Sydney-Hawkesbury district covered huge surfaces of rock with excellent compositions.

There are paintings on Groote Eylandt which suggest that more than one figure or composition were painted by the same artist, such as two fishing groups in Jundurruna 2. Whether an artist preferred to paint special subjects only is unlikely—in any case, the majority of them painted the dolphins, turtles, canoes, kangaroos or wallabies, and fish in preference to all other subjects because these were the most important animals and subjects inspiring their art. Again, it is obvious that one artist painted the whole of a magnificent frieze of dolphins and turtles in Chasm 8D, and some of the smaller series of paintings give one the impression of a single artist's work, but in extensive mixed sites like Jundurruna 1 and 2, and Angoroko 1, it is obvious that a number of painters in many generations contributed to the present complex and mixed displays of pictographs.

One interesting point about the subjects is that an artist had no hesitation in painting over another figure in a gallery, indicating that the significance of most of the paintings is a matter of importance chiefly for the generation of the artists who painted them. An artist sometimes added to an older figure to save himself the trouble of painting a complete figure. Thus a turtle was produced in Angoroko 1 by adding a small head and flippers to the large head of an old turtle painting. Among other examples a yellow outline of a dugong was painted within the outline of a large red silhouette—the yellow outline thus encloses a red silhouette dugong and a bichrome is produced with the minimum of effort.

The stick-type men shown in various hunting and fishing compositions, in corroborees and probably ritual groups in the Groote and Chasm galleries, represent an anthropomorphic style widely distributed in Australia, and they form a point of comparison between the above islands and the *mimi* figures of western Arnhem Land. It appears that all that was necessary to produce the *mimi*, stick people possessing considerable grace and animation, was a local elaboration of an indigenous style, and it is probable that such a process took place in western Arnhem Land.

In comparing the cave and bark paintings on Groote and Chasm Islands, I agree with Rose's conclusion (1942, p. 176) that " the style of the bark paintings is more advanced than the later rock paintings and shows a tendency to become conventionalized. The value of a background (usually black but sometimes red or yellow) and the orderly arrangement of the subject matter in enhancing the æsthetic effect is appreciated." I had two bark paintings done by two artists named Gulpitja and Kumbialla for comparison with the cave paintings. The subjects comprise a goose with a clutch of eggs, a subject portrayed in the Chasm 1 gallery, and men harpooning a turtle and a dugong, a motif displayed in many galleries. In both of the bark paintings, the technique employed is that of the use of rows or panels of dots, broken or parallel lines, highly developed into a complex decorative pattern by the modern painters but which appears in a very modified or elementary form in the pictographs. In the latter dots and broken lines are rare, but parallel lines are common and these form the basis of the modern painters' work on bark, in which art they represent wings, parts of the body, and feather patterns with panels of dots, parallel and broken lines. In the cave paintings emphasis was centred by the artists on form and posture, which are subordinated by the decorative influence in the bark paintings.

STYLES.

No satisfactory classification of Australian pictograph styles has yet been published, nor have authors in describing sites paid much attention to the need for unity of terminology in this matter. Davidson (1936) discussed the matter, and in 1953 published a joint classification of the styles of pictographs and petroglyphs in Western Australia which is too complicated for general use. There is also serious objection to the inclusion of both forms of art in the one classification. The opportunity is taken here, therefore, to propose a classification of Australian pictographic styles as a whole, in one list, simplified as much as possible for general use. The remarkably wide range of styles in the Groote and Chasm galleries includes all but eleven of the total series for the continent, and they are indicated by an asterisk. The classification is as follows:

Monochromes :

1. Stencil.*
2. Imprint.*
3. Silhouette (or monochrome).*
4. Partial silhouette.*
5. Silhouette with slits.
6. Outline.*
7. ,, with striped interior design.*
8. ,, with barred interior design.*
9. ,, with interior line design (other than striped or barred).*
10. ,, with pale interior.*
11. ,, with dotted interior.*
12. Dotted outline.*
13. Silhouette and line design combined.*
14. Linear.*
15. Stick-men and people.*
16. Geometric.

Bichromes :

17. Stencil in two colours.
18. ,, with design in another colour.*
19. Silhouette outlined with another colour.*
20. ,, with outline, interior line design, and other details in another colour.*
21. Striped.*
22. Barred.*
23. Outline with dots in another colour.
24. Silhouette with dots in another colour.*
25. X-ray.
26. Geometric.

Polychromes :

27. In three colours.*
28. In four colours.
29. In more than four colours.
30. X-ray in three colours.
31. Geometric in three colours.

There are thus twenty styles among the Groote and Chasm paintings, the occurrence of which, besides monochromes, bichromes and polychromes, involves a problem of chronology which I have attempted to solve by a study of the superimpositions. The possibility that some of these styles developed locally, such as from silhouette to outline to linear designs, or from outline to silhouette to polychrome, comes into one's mind immediately when one is inspecting the paintings. The problems to be decided are whether any of the styles belong to definite time periods or whether any of them are ancient and others recent in origin or time.

Numerically, the silhouettes and stencils are the predominant styles in these galleries. The sub-totals of the outline, barred and striped styles are almost equal, but the line design style has a higher frequency than either of them. The remaining styles are uncommon. The polychromes are comparatively few in number at Jundurruna and on Chasm Island, and in the outer rock-shelters at Angoroko, but they are well represented in Angoroko 1 and Jundurruna 2.

Stencils and silhouettes, outlines and striped figures occur over and under most of the other styles, including polychromes and X-rays, a fact which indicates that their range in time is from the beginning of painting in this area to the most recent period. The line design style occurs over the silhouette, striped and polychrome styles, and is under five other styles, so that it also has a long range in time. In examples of up to five superimpositions in one series, the silhouette style is at the bottom of four, and the striped of one, so that these two styles are as old as any others in these islands. On the other hand, the polychromes occur well up in the sequence and may not be as old as the other styles.

Actually, the polychrome occurs over five of the other styles, and is covered only by the silhouette and line design styles.

COLOURS.

The outstanding result of my analysis of the colours is that a number of them, including purplish-red, red, yellow, black, brown and white, are clearly shown to have been in the artist's palette throughout the period of painting in caves. There was an important intermediate period which produced the greatest number of pictographs, more particularly in a bright red, and this period appears to have begun with the introduction of the dugout canoe and detachable harpoon, apparatus which transformed the hunting of turtles, dugongs, dolphins and other large fish into an extremely productive enterprise. There does not appear to have been any one period in which one colour was favoured against all others, but during the earlier period purplish-red appears to have been preferred among the colours employed.

On Chasm Island a dry and rich brown pigment has been used in a few galleries, but it does not occur in superimposition and it is impossible to say whether it is a recent or old usage. Here, too, a brown paint is as ancient in use as any of the other colours.

There are many other features of these cave paintings which merit discussion, particularly the range of subjects in each gallery, the similarities and contrasts between the various series of paintings, and the time period involved for the pictograph period as a whole. These are dealt with in the longer paper abovementioned. I believe, however, that this analytical method, with its study of superimpositions and frequencies of styles and colours, and its detailed tabulation and consideration of the range of subject frequencies, needs wider application in Australia for the purpose of building up a body of comparative data that will enable us to understand more clearly not only the chronological problems involved but also the relative importance of economic and ritual subjects and inspiration in Aboriginal cave art.

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The Anthropological Society of South Australia, and especially its older members, learnt with regret of the passing of Frederic Wood Jones at the latter part of last year. It recalled vivid memories of his years as Professor in Anatomy at the Adelaide University from 1919 until 1926. In South Australia, interest in anthropology had remained rather dormant since the activities of Sir Edward Stirling, dating back to the turn of the century. But with the advent of Wood Jones, Adelaide experienced a bright recrudescence of interest in the Aborigines. It was due to his enthusiasm and inspiration that the Anthropological Society was founded in 1925, since when it has maintained its activities during all the intervening years, in spite of the difficulties of the war period.

The many years of active research carried out on the Australian Aborigine by the University, the South Australian Museum and the Anthropological Society and the large number of publications resulting from such work will long remain a fitting memorial to the stimulation infused by the brilliant personality and example of Frederic Wood Jones.

Melanesia : Material Culture. **Massola.**

A Thief's Charm from New Britain. *By A. Massola, F.R.A.I., Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Victoria.*

A very interesting artefact, obtained from a Mr. R. H. Rickard in 1891, is in the collections of the National Museum of Victoria (Ethnology No. 2721). The same object was included by J. Edge-Partington in his *Album of the Weapons, Tools and Ornaments of the Pacific Islanders* (page 38, fig. 3 of the 3rd series, 1898). It is a human lower jaw encased in the " putty " compound of the black resin of the Parinarium nut. This encasement was, while soft, moulded by the addition of a nose and mouth in the semblance of a human face. A prolongation of the chin was adorned on each side with human hair, embedded in the putty compound, to serve as a beard, while the rami of the jaw were left uncovered and protruding to serve as ears. The eyes, now missing, were probably two shells, held in position by embedded wooden sticks. The whole was then painted red and white, to accentuate the plastic effect of the mask, and a wound cane handle attached to the rear by means of two holes drilled at the base of the rami.

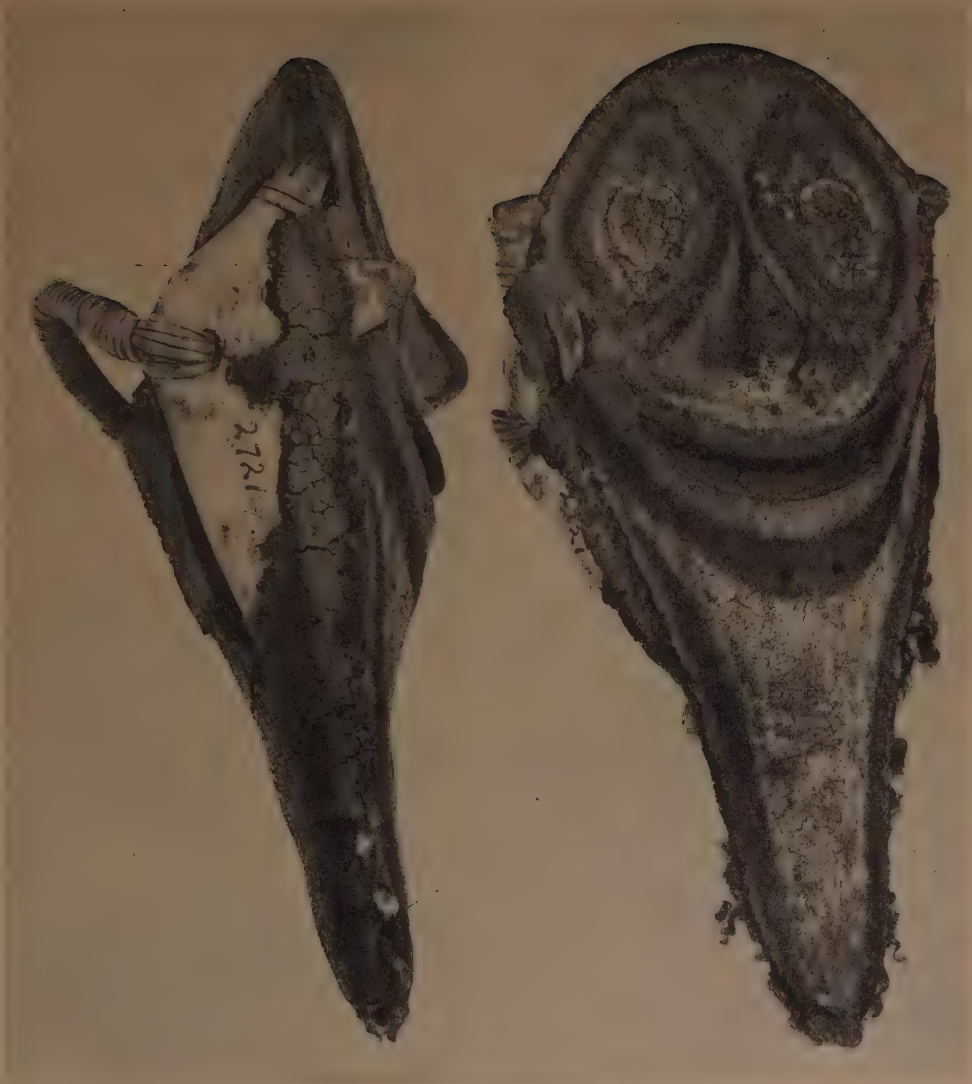
The charm thus acquires a resemblance to the better known masks, moulded with the same Parinarium over the front half of a human skull, used at dances in honour of the departed. The semblance is heightened by the wound cane handle, which could be mistaken for the wooden stick tied to the rear of the skull-mask, and held between the teeth of the dancer to hold the skull-mask in position. If the charm was similarly held in the mouth it would hang too low and would not hide the face of the wearer. Consequently the cane must have been intended as a handle for carrying purposes, or for hanging up.

In his description, Edge-Partington calls it a Mesmeric Charm (*Ur-na-mruk*) used " for sending people to sleep, in order to rob them." This he copied from the Registration Catalogue of the National Museum of Victoria.

Two similar charms are mentioned by Professor Giglioli in his *La Collezione Etnografica*, published in 1911. He says " *Kinakinau*, Professional charms of thieves. Must always contain a human mandible, which is supposed to possess the virtue of sending to sleep the inhabitants of the house in which it has been smuggled. From Kabaira, Port Weber, New Britain." (The translation is mine.) The name in this case is different to the one supplied by Mr. Rickard for the Melbourne example. It could have been collected in a different district, as no exact locality is given for the National Museum specimen, but undoubtedly the function of the object is the same.

But what could the thief want to steal from the hut ? Obviously, in primitive society any object would be immediately recognized by any of the villagers as belonging to some particular individual. It would thus be impossible for the thief to dispose of anything, that is, anything but *Diwarra*. This Diwarra, a native currency, made from *Nassa camelus*, a small shell with a cowrie-like lump on its back, played such an important role in the life of this people that its acquisition became a cult. All their energies were spent in acquiring it, and with it come power. With it, anything from pigs, canoes or wives could be bought, services could be paid for, fines for adultery, etc., could be paid, and even life could be ransomed. After death, the feast, so essential for the future well-being of the deceased's spirit, could only be brought about by the distribution of innumerable fathoms of Diwarra.

A. MASSOLA.



A THIEF'S CHARM FROM NEW BRITAIN.

PROCEEDINGS OF SOCIETIES:

Annual Report of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, 1954. *Summary of the report delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Society on December 13th, 1954.*

The office-bearers of the Society during 1954 were:

President: Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow.
Vice-President: Mr. M. J. Barrett.
Members of Council: Dr. E. Cooper-Black, Dr. T. D. Campbell, Mr. G. H. Lawton, Mr. C. P. Mountford, Mr. N. B. Tindale.
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At the request of a number of society members, the Council of the Anthropological Society of South Australia decided to depart from its customary programme of talks during 1954 and inaugurate a special course of lectures dealing with the principal elements of anthropological studies. Since the Adelaide University lacks a Department of Anthropology, it was hoped that such a course of lectures would fill a real need in that part of our community which is interested in native affairs and ethnological studies.

The following course of lectures was given:

March 29th: Mr. T. G. H. Strehlow—*Anthropology: Its Scope and Status.*
April 27th and May 24th: Professor A. A. Abbie—*Physical Anthropology* (two lectures).
June 28th and July 26th: Mr. N. B. Tindale—*Development of Man's Material Culture* (two lectures).
August 23rd: Robert Campbell—*Primitive Art.*
September 27th: Dr. K. W. Thompson—*Kinship and the Human Family.*
October 25th: Principal E. S. Kiek—*Man's Beliefs.*
November 29th: Professor R. A. Blackburn—*Primitive Law.*
December 13th: Annual General Meeting.

Judged by attendances, the lectures were well appreciated. Many of the visitors who attended the meetings have since become members of the Society.

With a considerable body of new members to give added strength to it, the Anthropological Society of South Australia is looking forward to the future with increased confidence.

REVIEWS :

Adam in Plumes. *By Colin Simpson. Angus and Robertson, Sydney.* 1954. 268 *pp.*, 16 *colour plates,* 28 *monochromes, maps and text figures.* 25/-.

This is the story of the discovery of the famed Wahgi Valley in the highlands of New Guinea ; of its past state and present prospects. It is a story full of nostalgic memories for the reviewer who talked with the discoverers—the Leahy brothers—a few weeks after their return from Mount Hagen. Squatting beside Michael Leahy on the deck of the M.V. *Macdhui* as she ploughed her way from New Guinea to Australia, I looked and listened with envy as he talked about and showed me photographs of the Valley and its people.

There is no doubt that the discovery in 1933 that many thousands of human beings were living in the high mountain valleys of Central New Guinea is the most momentous and dramatic event of modern exploration. Here is a story calculated to excite the wonder of anyone interested in this world of ours. It certainly fired the imagination of Mr. Simpson, and he has given us a magnificent picture of the failures and successes, the risks and the dangers, the frustrations and the disappointments and the sadness and the humour involved in opening up unknown lands.

The first part of the book describes in vivid detail the penetration of the previously unknown highlands by prospector, government official and missionary. Whenever possible Mr. Simpson has gone to the original sources for his information, and this part of his narrative contains invaluable, little known facts for which present and future students of New Guinea history will surely thank him.

The second part of the book deals with the Valley as it is to-day. The author knows it well. He has tramped up and down its jungle tracks and talked with its inhabitants, both black and white, in order to convey to us a true picture of life in newest New Guinea. To readers of this journal the chapters in which he calls to his aid the anthropologists Marie Reay and Dr. Read are of particular interest.

Altogether, *Adam in Plumes* is the best of the " Adam " series. It is the work of a master reporter with a sensitive understanding of man, both primitive and civilized, and an equally delicate power of conveying his thoughts and feelings. So rich in exotic interest is the text of the book that it might well have been issued without any illustrations at all and still sold well. However, the publishers have outshone themselves in this matter of illustrations. There are no less than sixteen colour plates, plus forty monochromes of perhaps the most picturesque primitive natives on the face of the earth. It is an excellent piece of book making and exceptionally good value at twenty-five shillings per copy.

F. L. S. Bell.

Saipan : The Ethnology of a War-Devastated Island. *By Alexander Spoehr. Chicago Natural History Museum, Chicago.* 1954. 383 *pp.* $5.

Students of Oceanic anthropology will be forever indebted to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council for its sponsorship of field research in Micronesia at the conclusion of World War II. Such research was recognized as basic to any attempt to govern these island peoples wisely, and the whole project is an excellent example of the sound methods employed by the United States in dealing with its Pacific Islands Trust Territory.

Instead of using the hit-and-miss methods usually employed in setting up an island administration, the Americans decided to make a complete scientific survey of Micronesia and to use the knowledge thus obtained in establishing a system of government which would be in the best interests of the island peoples concerned.

The book under review is one small part of the stream of conclusions now flowing from the above project. Dr. Spoehr spent a year in the Marianas, principally on Saipan Island, studying the social organization and archæology of the group. The present volume does not deal with the archæological evidence. Its object is to portray the culture of the present-day Chamorro and his Carolinian counterpart.

Although the term " Chamorro " was the name used by the original Spanish discoverers of the Mariana Islands to describe a native of those islands, the same term is still used to describe the Hispanicized group of several thousand present-day inhabitants of the Marianas. They bear little resemblance either physically or culturally, to the Pacific Island native of tradition. " As subjects for study, the Chamorros are of more significance in the frame of reference of culture change among Hispanicized New World societies than in purely Oceanic ones and the first purpose of this Report is to bring the Chamorros into the comparative study of Hispanicized, non-European peoples more specifically than has been done heretofore."

The Chamorros are not the sole inhabitants of these islands. They share ownership with a number of migrants from the Caroline Islands, and it is also part of the author's purpose to describe the functioning of this entirely different society against the Chamorro cultural background.

Altogether the sociology of the Marianas poses problems of a type not found in any other Pacific Island community, and Dr. Spoehr is to be congratulated, firstly on having had the opportunity of working in such an interesting field, and secondly on having produced such an excellent report. It is extremely well documented and easy to read and a publication in keeping with the high standards we have been led to expect from the Chicago Natural History Museum.

F. L. S. BELL.

Societe, Rituels et Mythes du Nord Ambrym. *By Jean Guiart. Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes, Tome VII, No. 7, Decembre* 1951. 103 *pp.*

L'Organisation Sociale et Politique Traditionnelle a Uvea. *By Jean Guiart. Institut Francais d'Oceanie. July,* 1952. 49 *pp.*

L'Organisation Sociale et Politique du Nord Malekula. *By Jean Guiart. Journal de la Societe des Oceanistes, Tome VIII, No.* 8. *Decembre,* 1952. *pp.* 149-259.

Mythes et Chants Polynesiens d'Ouvea. *By Jean Guiart. Journal of the Polynesian Society, Vol.* 62, *No.* 2, *June,* 1953. 26 *pp.*

L'Art Autochtone de Nouvelle-Caledonie. *By Jean Guiart. Editions des Etudes Melanesiennes.* 1953. 50 *pp.*, 65 *pl. and several line drawings and colour blocks.* A10/-.

L'Organisation Sociale et Coutumiere de la population Autochtone de Nouvelle-Caledonie. *By Jean Guiart. Institut Francais d'Oceanie, November,* 1954. 29 *pp.*

The name of M. Guiart, Ethnologist attached to the French Institute of Oceania, is not unknown to many readers of this journal. Those of us who were privileged to hear his lecture on the social and political organization of Northern Malekula and to see his film of native life on the island should seize the opportunity of extending our knowledge of aboriginal life in the New Hebrides by reading the abovementioned articles. The author employs a clear, simple style of writing which makes for easy reading and equally easy understanding, and since all of the articles are well illustrated, they should prove valuable additions to the library of any reader interested in New Hebridean native life.

The most ambitious of the articles deals with the ritual life and kinship organization of Northern Ambrym. Prior to the publication of this article our best source of information on the area was Bernard Deacon. The Loyalty Islands are covered in two separate articles : one dealing with kinship, land tenure and the nature of chieftainship and the other with a few Polynesian songs and myths introduced into Uvea by way of neighbouring Wallis Island. The article on Northern Malekula is particularly interesting since it deals with the Big Nambas, a people about which little accurate information was available before the publication of this work. To the student of Melanesian art, M. Guiart's short but well illustrated guide to the aboriginal art of New Caledonia will be especially pleasing. Apparently it is a dying art—" Helas ! par un curieux paradoxe, nos jeunes melanesiens semblent ignorer completement ce patrimoine ancestral et les objets sculptes . . . ont pratiquement disparu du sol ou ils etaient nes." Nevertheless, this is no mere catalogue of the art of the past, for it includes a most interesting interview with a living native sculptor—Charley Weiss ; " age de 45 ans et pere d'une nombreuse famille." The final article under review is an account of the social organization and traditional way of life of the native population of New Caledonia. It is an excellent account of particular value to the layman although not without interest for the student of Melanesian anthropology, the section dealing with the cultural changes which have taken place in New Caledonia since France first took possession of the island in 1853 being of special interest.

M. Guiart is an enthusiastic field worker and an equally prolific producer of published material. France is fortunate in having such a devoted and capable student of New Hebridean native life, and lovers of Oceanic anthropology are also grateful for the opportunity of examining this life through the eyes of such a keen and human observer.

F. L. S. Bell.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS:

Field Techniques in Anthropology.

Sir,

I read with great interest the article on "Field Techniques in Anthropology" (in Vol. V, No. 1), by J. H. Bell. This is a valuable contribution which should be carefully studied and practically applied by future generations of Australian field workers. Only the introductory paragraph cannot be accepted, as it is erroneous to assert that "a survey of anthropological literature reveals an overwhelming absence of any remarks on the field techniques used by the authors in collecting their material" and that "in those few cases where field techniques are discussed the discussions are extremely brief and often do not include all the techniques that must have been used by the anthropologists in collecting their material." This criticism is, in the first place, hardly justified with regard to the English literature when instructions in field work techniques have only recently been issued again in the new sixth edition of the "Notes and Queries." There, it has been made clear from the outset that the employment of a certain method, and the avoidance of methodical mistakes, should be the first problem of the beginner. However, we have to realize that, in J. H. Bell's article, actually *two* different aspects, or, respectively, problems are under consideration, viz. on the one hand, the postulate that, in preparing his research report for publication, any anthropological field worker should explain in full detail the method by which the results submitted in his publication were obtained. This is illustrated with the help of the published work of several distinguished modern field anthropologists—which would have been impossible if the publications of those anthropologists would leave any doubt about their methods. On the other hand, Mr. Bell discusses anthropological field techniques in general, though with limitation to social anthropology. Thus we are faced with two different issues, one concerning the scrutiny of our literary sources and the other educational. Mr. Bell deals with both.

Anthropology, with its various divisions and subdivisions, is an international subject. It is not advisable to confine the discussion of any anthropological questions of a general character to just one part of the literature, e.g. publications in one particular language. International co-operation and, correspondingly, the study of the anthropological literature in other languages, are obviously indispensable. Unfortunately, the linguistic equipment of the majority of anthropologists in Australia is poor. I know only one colleague (who lives in Sydney) who is able to read German (and several other languages) fluently. The others have to rely on translations—authentic ones if available, or more or less summary ones supplied by friends—unless they prefer to ignore the literature in languages other than English altogether. In this way the rich older literature on the native peoples of the former German possessions or protectorates remains practically inaccessible to many of those students who are—in theory—supposed to be thoroughly familiar with the areas in question. It is not sufficient to know the conditions at the present moment, and the past cannot be understood without the records of the first observers. The linguistic handicap is also prevalent with regard to other parts of the world. It is particularly regrettable in cases of important publications of a general character, which would be a great help to all students of anthropology. Such a publication is Richard Thurnwald's "Anleitung zur voelkerkundlichen Feldarbeit" ("Instructions for ethnological field work"), which is part of the "Lehrbuch der Voelkerkunde" ("Textbook of Ethnology"), Stuttgart, 1937, 2nd Ed., 1939, pp. 405-422. It is, of course, based on Thurnwald's own field experience, mainly in New Guinea and the northern Solomon Islands, and it is divided into twelve chapters. One of these is devoted to the study of the individual and its importance for genealogical investigation and historical research. Another section deals with information concerning women, whereby Thurnwald, from his own experience with Dr. Hilde Thurnwald, recommends co-operation of a male and female anthropologist. Perhaps the least satisfactory chapter is No. VIII, "Linguistic Investigations," which is written in a haphazard style and thus is not systematic. Nevertheless the examples given of sometimes rather ridiculous errors caused by mutual ignorance of the vernaculars include the following interesting case we speak of the "Sepik River," but "*sepik*" is merely the term used by some of the natives of the coastal district for "the yellow mud" which is washed into the sea by the river at flooding time. The real name of the river itself, on its lower and middle course, is *Kagia* or *Kaugia*. As a "social anthropologist," Thurnwald has no advice to offer for the collection and preservation of material objects, let alone archæological observations. But he refers students interested in "museum specimens" to another, earlier, publication, viz. "Anleitung zum ethnologischen Beobachten und Sammeln" ("Directions for ethnological observation and collecting") by Bernhard Ankermann (distinguished Africanist), Berlin, 1914. The technique of questioning individuals, mainly North African and Oriental tribesmen, about sociological facts is described at some length in the introduction to "Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika" ("Custom and Law in Northern Arfica"), collected by Ubach and Rackow and edited by Kampffmeyer, H. Stumme and the present writer, Stuttgart, 1923, pp. ix-xl. Of these three publications, Thurnwald's "Instructions" are the most useful for field workers in social anthropology in Melanesia to-day. They should, therefore, be read by students interested in the subject in connection with Mr. J. H. Bell's "Field Techniques in Anthropology."

LEONHARD ADAM.

University of Melbourne,
December, 1954.

Field Techniques in Anthropology: A Rejoinder.

Sir,

Thank you for the opportunity to add a rejoinder to Dr. Adams' comments. It is gratifying that Dr. Adam has taken exception to only one paragraph in my article, viz. the first, which he has largely quoted in his letter. It is quite clear from the quotation and from the references used in my article that in criticizing the lack of detailed statements on field techniques I was referring to anthropological monographs recording the results of field work carried out by the authors in particular areas (e.g. Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Westermarck's *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, and the like), and not to texts devoted solely to the general discussion and the listing of anthropological field techniques. That Dr. Adam has missed this point is shown by his reference to *Notes and Queries*, which belongs to this latter category. Thurnwald's two volumes to which Dr. Adam refers would also fall into this second category. I might here point out that in addition to *Notes and Queries*, the handbook, for the amateur, far superior texts devoted solely to the problem of field techniques exist for the professional field worker, viz. Bartlett and Ginsberg's *The Study of Society*, the relevant chapters in Kroeber's *Anthropology Today*, and so on. These volumes, however, were outside the scope of my criticism.

In summarizing the postulates discussed in my article, Dr. Adam says the first is that "in preparing his research report for publication any anthropological field worker should explain in full detail the method by which the results submitted in his publication were obtained." Here I would object, and strongly so, to the use of "method"—"methods" is the word required. This is important because one of the aims of my paper (and those to follow) is to show that the anthropologist in the field makes use of different methods (techniques) and not only one method. For example, the anthropologist in his study of one society might employ the "directive" interview technique with one informant and the "non-directive" technique with another; he might be a "pure" observer in one situation and a participant observer in another. This has already been mentioned in my article and there is no need to reiterate it in any elaborate detail. All I wish to stress is that it is a naïve contention that an anthropologist employs only one method in the field. If this were the case, the problem of field techniques would be less extensive than it is.

When Dr. Adam says that my article was "illustrated with the help of the published work of several distinguished modern field anthropologists—which would have been impossible if the publications of those anthropologists would leave any doubt about their methods," I think he is implying that because I cited these works I consider their discussions of their field techniques adequate. On the contrary, I do not. Firth's discussion of his field techniques in *We, The Tikopia*, although interesting, are by no means sufficiently detailed to satisfy the inquiring mind. Colson, in *The Makah Indians* (published 1953), dismisses her discussion of field techniques in three or four pages, while Hogbin, in *Experiments in Civilization*, barely mentions only some of the techniques he must have used in his field work to produce the results he did. Then there are many monographs like Powdermaker's *Life in Lesu* in which no mention is made of field techniques at all. Dr. Adam does not apparently have any doubt about their methods. I am afraid I cannot share his confidence.

J. H. Bell.

University of Sydney,
January, 1955.

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(*a*) To promote the science of Anthropology.
(*b*) To hold biennial conferences of delegates from affiliated societies to deal with matters affecting affiliated societies generally, or the science of anthropology.
(*c*) To take public and official action in the interests of anthropology, as may be deemed desirable.
(*d*) To encourage affiliated societies to co-operate in every possible way.

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Seamer and Arundel Streets, Glebe. Sydney, N.S.W.